NOV 07 2005

1 2	BEFORE THE FEDE	ERAL ELECTION COMMISSIO	N SECRETARIAL
3	In the Matter of	•	2005 NGY -7 A 11: 37
5 6	David Wittig and Douglas Lake) MUR 5657)	SENSITIVE
7 8 9	GENERAL C	COUNSEL'S REPORT # 11	OFIAGE FAR
10 11	I. <u>ACTIONS RECOMMENDED</u> :	Find probable cause to believe that	(1) David Wittig
12	violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) and 11 C.F.R. § 114.2(f) by consenting to prohibited corporate		
13	facilitation of contributions; (2) Douglas Lake violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) and 11 C.F.R.		
14	§ 114.2(f) by consenting to prohibited con	rporate facilitation of contributions	
15			
16 17	II. <u>BACKGROUND</u>		
18	David Wittig and Douglas Lake w	vere the top two officers at Westar F	Energy, Inc., when
19	Westar facilitated \$39,900 in contribution	ns to 21 federal political committees	s. Wittig and Lake
20	consented to the facilitation.		
21	On October 19, 2004, the Commis	ssion found reason to believe that W	Vestar and four
22	Westar executives, Wittig, Lake, Carl M.	Koupal, Jr., and Douglass Lawrence	e, violated the
23	Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971,	as amended ("the Act"), specifically	y, 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a)

and 11 C.F.R. §§ 110.6(b)(2) and 114.2(f).² See MUR 5573. The Commission also found that

Westar's outside lobbyists, Governmental Strategies, Inc. ("GSI") and Richard Bornemann,

24

25

¹ This is the first General Counsel's report in MUR 5657, which was opened when the Commission severed these respondents from MUR 5573. MUR 5573 involved the other Westar respondents. The First General Counsel's Report in MUR 5573 also addresses Wittig and Lake's potential liability.

² Although the Commission initially found reason to believe that Wittig and Lake violated 11 C.F.R. § 110 6(b)(2), which applies to conduits or intermediaries, subsequent investigation revealed that Wittig and Lake did not receive and forward earmarked contributions to candidate committees, and, thus, this regulation is not applicable to them

10

14

15

16

17

18

- violated 11 C.F.R § 114.2(f). See id. Earlier this year, the Commission accepted conciliation
- agreements with Westar, Koupal, Lawrence, and Bornemann in connection with the prohibited
- facilitation, and closed the file as to GSI. See id. On May 10, 2004, the Commission severed
- 4 Wittig and Lake from MUR 5573 and opened MUR 5657 as to
- 5 them. On September 1, 2005, this Office served Wittig and Lake General Counsel's Briefs
- 6 ("Wittig Brief" and "Lake Brief" or collectively "GC Briefs"), incorporated herein by reference,
- to their counsel. The GC Briefs set forth the factual and legal basis upon which this Office is
- 8 __prepared to recommend that Wittig and Lake violated the Act. -

January 21, 2005 ("Lake Response").

After receiving extensions, Wittig and Lake submitted responses to the GC Briefs. Wittig submitted a two-paragraph brief (see Attachment 1) stating that he stands by his response to the reason to believe findings. See MUR 5573, Wittig Response, January 18, 2005 ("Wittig Response"). In addition, his brief incorporates Vice Chairman Toner's Statement of Reasons in the Westar matter, in which Vice Chairman Toner stated that he did not agree that Westar facilitated contributions. Wittig further requests that the Commission stay this matter pending resolution of the criminal case against him.³ Lake's one-paragraph "brief" (see Attachment 2) merely states that Lake denies any liability and stands by the legal arguments he made in his response to the Commission's reason to believe findings. See MUR 5573, Lake Response,

³ At the time the briefs were served, Wittig and Lake were defending themselves against criminal charges in Kansas. The 40-count criminal charges related to a variety of corporate fraud abuses they allegedly committed while at Westar, including money laundering, wire fraud, and circumvention of internal controls. An earlier attempt in 2004 to convict Wittig and Lake resulted in a December mistrial. On September 12, 2005, a new jury convicted Wittig on 39 counts and Lake on 30, with a forfeiture count still to be determined. Sentencing is scheduled for January 9, 2006. None of the 40 counts involved the campaign contributions at issue in this matter. This Office does not recommend postponing a decision about whether there is probable cause to believe Wittig violated the Act. If the Commission finds probable cause, this Office will take into account Wittig's criminal proceedings in scheduling deadlines.

20

21

As discussed below and in the GC Briefs, the factual record shows that Wittig and Lake consented to Westar collecting and forwarding contributions to candidate committees. *See* GC Briefs, pp. 2-8. Accordingly, for the reasons discussed below and in the GC Briefs, this Office recommends that the Commission find probable cause to believe that Wittig and Lake violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) and 11 C.F.R. § 114.2(f) by consenting to prohibited corporate facilitation of contributions. Finally, based on the approaching statute of limitations and the slim possibility of conciliation this Office recommends that the Commission grant contingent suit authority.⁴

III. <u>FACTUAL SUMMARY</u>

Westar is an electric utility company incorporated in Kansas and headquartered in 9 Topeka, Kansas. See Westar Energy, Inc., Conciliation Agreement ("Westar CA"), Part IV, ¶ 1. 10 David Wittig was the Vice President of Corporate Strategy at Westar from 1995 to 1998 and its 11 President and CEO from 1998 through November 7, 2002. See id. Douglas Lake was Westar's 12 Vice President for Corporate Strategy from 1998 through December 6, 2002. See id. Douglass 13 Lawrence was Westar's Vice President of Government Affairs from late 2001 until he 14 voluntarily resigned at the end of 2002. See Douglass Lawrence Conciliation Agreement 15 ("Lawrence CA"), Part IV, ¶ 1. Carl M. Koupal, Jr., was employed at Westar from March 16, 16 1992 through October 31, 2001, and served as Executive Vice President and Chief 17 Administrative Officer at the times relevant herein. See Carl M. Koupal, Jr., Conciliation 18 Agreement ("Koupal CA"), Part IV, ¶ 1. 19

GSI is a lobbying and consulting firm incorporated in Virginia with its principal place of business in Oakton, Virginia. See Richard Bornemann Conciliation Agreement ("Bornemann

⁴ The statute of limitations on 2000 corporate contribution activity, which we learned about in November 2003, begins to expire in late December 2005.

21

22

4

- 1 CA"), Part IV, ¶ 2. GSI has worked as one of Westar's lobbyists since March 1, 2000. See id.
- 2 Richard Bornemann, one of GSI's lobbyists, provided lobbying and consulting services to Westar
- during times relevant herein. See id.

A. September 2000 Solicitations

Shortly after the August 2000 primary election in Kansas, Wittig asked Koupal to create a 5 proposed list of candidates for the top Westar executives (the "Executive Council"), including 6 Wittig and Lake, to support in the upcoming general election. See Koupal Affidavit, ¶ 4 7 (Attachment 3). Wittig also asked Koupal to propose suggested contribution amounts for the six 8 Executive Council members. See id. At around the same time, at a regularly held weekly staff 9 meeting of the Executive Council that Lake attended, Wittig announced that Koupal would be 10 creating such a chart and that it was Wittig's desire for Westar to support these candidates.⁵ See 11 id., ¶ 6. Wittig said that Koupal would be giving the executives information about their 12 suggested contributions and that they should give their contribution checks to Koupal. See id. 13 The chart that Koupal created at Wittig's direction listed four federal candidates – Jim 14 Ryun, Dennis Moore, Todd Tiahrt, and Jerry Moran – and five local and state candidates. See 15 Chart, Westar Special Report, Exh. 239. Koupal listed the six Executive Council members by 16 their initials, including Wittig and Lake, and wrote in a proposed contribution amount for each 17 executive to give to the candidate committees. See id. Koupal showed the chart to Wittig, and 18 19 Wittig indicated changes to be made for some of the proposed contribution amounts. See Koupal

Affidavit, ¶ 5. After Koupal incorporated Wittig's changes, Koupal distributed the chart to

phone with the executives to tell them how and when to write their checks. See id., ¶ 8.

Wittig, Lake and the other executives and, except for Lake, communicated in person or over the

⁵ The Westar PAC was not active at this time.

- Pursuant to a request by Lake, Koupal wrote a memorandum to Lake, dated September
- 2 20, 2000, listing the four federal candidate committees. See id., ¶ 11 and Koupal Memorandum,
- Westar Sua Sponte, Attachment 10. In the memorandum, Koupal told Lake, "Please return these
- 4 checks and we'll deliver them together." See Koupal Memorandum and Koupal Affidavit, ¶ 11.
- 5 On or about September 26, 2000, Lake on his own behalf wrote sequential contribution checks to
- the federal candidate committees listed in Koupal's September 20 memorandum for the exact
- 7 amounts requested. Lake forwarded the checks, totaling \$3,000, to Koupal. See Koupal
- 8 Affidavit, ¶ 12. Lake, Wittig, and the other executives, except for Koupal, wrote contribution
- 9 checks to all the federal candidates listed on the chart in the amounts suggested. According to
- Westar's internal investigation, "some officers felt pressured to contribute, and were of the view
- that Mr. Wittig had let it be known that he wanted officers to contribute when Mr. Koupal came
- to ask." See Westar Special Report, p. 344.
- As part of the September 2000 solicitation effort, Koupal collected contribution checks
- from Wittig, Lake, and the other Executive Council members and sent the checks to the
- candidate committees. See Koupal CA, Part IV, ¶ 9. Disclosure reports show that Westar
- executives and/or their spouses made the following contributions in accordance with the 2000
- 17 contributions schedule:

DATE OF CONTRIBUTION	AMOUNT	RECIPIENT COMMITTEE
10/16/00	\$1,000	Jim Ryun for Congress
10/16/00	\$2,000 ⁶	Jim Ryun for Congress
10/16/00	\$ 750	Jim Ryun for Congress
10/16/00	\$ 500	Jim Ryun for Congress
10/24/00	\$ 500	Dennis Moore for Congress
10/24/00	\$1,000	Dennis Moore for Congress
10/24/00	\$ 750	Dennis Moore for Congress

⁶ This \$2,000 contribution from Wittig on October 16 exceeded contribution limits by \$1,000; on November 1, it was reattributed by the recipient committee as a \$1,000 contribution from Wittig and a \$1,000 contribution from Wittig's wife.

7

MUR 5657 General Counsel's Report #1

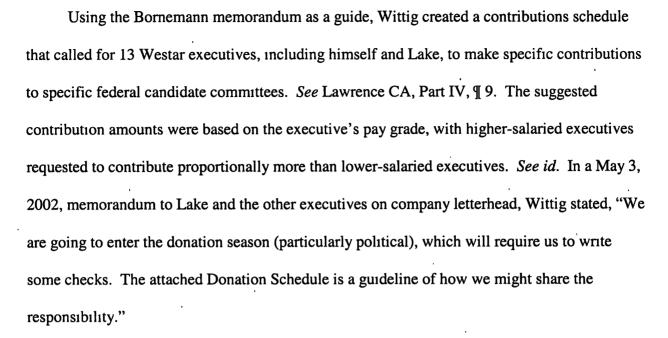
DATE OF CONTRIBUTION	AMOUNT	RECIPIENT COMMITTEE
10/24/00	\$ 500	Dennis Moore for Congress
10/26/00	\$ 500	Jim Ryun for Congress
10/27/00	\$ 500	Tiahrt for Congress
10/27/00	\$ 500	Tiahrt for Congress
10/27/00	\$1,000	Tiahrt for Congress
10/27/00	\$ 500	Trahrt for Congress
11/04/00	\$ 250	Moran for Kansas
11/04/00	\$ 500	Moran for Kansas
11/04/00	\$ 250	Moran for Kansas
11/04/00	\$ 250	Moran for Kansas
11/04/00	\$ 250	Moran for Kansas
TOTAL	\$11,500	

In response to the September 2000 solicitation, Wittig and Lake forwarded checks

- a earmarked for federal candidate committees totaling \$3,500 and \$3,000, respectively, to Koupal.
- In total, the September 2000 solicitation resulted in \$11,500 in political contributions from
- 5 Westar executives that Koupal collected and forwarded as earmarked contribution checks to
- 6 federal candidate committees.

B. 2002 Solicitations

- In an April 23, 2002, memorandum to Governmental Affairs Vice President Douglass
- 9 Lawrence, Koupal's successor at Westar, titled "Federal Elections Participation," lobbyist
- 10 Richard Bornemann outlined a proposal "to develop a significant and positive profile for the
- 11 Company's federal presence." See Bornemann Memorandum, available at
- http://www.house.gov/ethics/DeLay_pdfs/Exhibit%20K.pdf (April 23, 2002). In the
- memorandum, he recommended that Westar employees contribute specific amounts to certain
- federal political committees. See id. In total, Bornemann recommended that Westar employees,
- through individual contributions, contribute \$31,500 in federal funds. Bornemann also
- recommended that Westar contribute \$25,000 in nonfederal funds. See id.



Thereafter, Lawrence, at Wittig's direction, communicated via email, internal mail and orally with Lake and the other solicited executives to let them know to whom they should write contribution checks and the specific amounts within the monetary framework set by Wittig. *See* Lawrence CA, Part IV, ¶ 10. In a June 25, 2002, memorandum to Wittig, Lake and the other executives, Lawrence set forth another round of suggested contribution amounts, explaining how the contribution checks delivered up to that time had successfully resulted in favorable legislative action for Westar and why "the next round of checks" were important to the company's financial restructuring plans. *See* Lawrence Memorandum, *available at* http://www.house.gov/ethics/DeLay_pdfs/Exhibit%20N.pdf (June 25, 2002).

At least through October 18, 2002, Lawrence (and/or his assistant at his direction) collected the executives' contributions, including Wittig and Lake's checks. *See* Lawrence CA, Part IV, ¶ 11. Lawrence then forwarded the checks to the recipient committees, sometimes directly by mail and other times through Bornemann, who then would deliver them to the

MUR 5657 General Counsel's Report #1

- recipient committees in person or by mail. See id. After October 18, 2002, on the advice of
- counsel, Westar executives, including Wittig and Lake, began sending their contributions
- directly to candidate committees by Federal Express, U.S. mail, or other mail service at
- Westar's expense. See id. Westar executives and the spouses of two of the executives made the
- following contributions from May 31, 2002, through December 19, 2002, which were either
- 6 collected and forwarded to candidates by Lawrence and/or Bornemann, or sent by the executives
- by Federal Express or U.S. mail at Westar's expense:

DATE OF CONTRIBUTION	AMOUNT	RECIPIENT COMMITTEE
05/31/02	\$1,000	Tom Young for Congress
05/31/02	\$1,000	Tom Young for Congress
05/31/02	\$1,000	Tom Young for Congress
05/31/02	\$ 300	Tom Young for Congress
05/31/02	\$ 300	Tom Young for Congress
05/31/02	\$1,000	Tom Young for Congress
05/31/02	\$ 400	Tom Young for Congress
06/06/02	\$ 300	Tom DeLay Congressional Committee
06/06/02	\$ 300	Tom DeLay Congressional Committee
06/06/02	\$1,000	Tom DeLay Congressional Committee
06/06/02	\$ 300	Tom DeLay Congressional Committee
06/06/02	\$ 200	Tom DeLay Congressional Committee
06/06/02	\$ 300	Tom DeLay Congressional Committee
06/10/02	\$ 500	Northup for Congress
06/10/02	\$ 350	Northup for Congress
06/20/02	\$1,000	Volunteers for Shimkus
06/28/02	\$1,000	Graves for Congress
06/30/02	\$ 350	Shelley Moore Capito for Congress
06/30/02	\$ 650	Shelley Moore Capito for Congress
07/31/02	\$1,000	Bayou Leader PAC
07/31/02	\$ 300	Bayou Leader PAC
07/31/02	\$1,000	Bayou Leader PAC
07/31/02	\$ 500	Bayou Leader PAC
10/18/02	\$1,000	Next Century Fund
10/23/02	\$ 500	NRCCC
10/23/02	\$ 425	NRCCC
10/23/02	\$ 225	NRCCC

According to Bornemann's memorandum, most of the suggested contribution recipients were either members of or had ties to leaders of the Senate and House energy committees

3

7

MUR 5657 General Counsel's Report #1

DATE OF CONTRIBUTION	AMOUNT	RECIPIENT COMMITTEE
10/25/02	\$ 500	Simmons for Congress
10/28/02	\$1,000	Oxley for Congress
10/28/02	\$ 500	Texas Freedom Fund
10/28/02	\$ 500	Texas Freedom Fund
10/28/02	\$ 500	Hayes for Congress
10/29/02	\$ 500	Hayes for Congress
10/29/02	\$ 325	Leadership PAC
10/29/02	\$ 675	Leadership PAC
10/29/02	\$ 500	Latham for Congress
10/29/02	\$ 250	Latham for Congress
10/29/02	\$ 250	Latham for Congress
10/30/02	\$ 500	Simmons for Congress
10/30/01	\$1,000	Team Sununu
10/31/02	\$1,000	The Congressman Joe Barton Committee
11/03/02	\$1,000	Team Sununu
11/04/02	\$1,000	Team Sununu
11/05/02	\$1,000	The Congressman Joe Barton Committee
12/19/02	\$1,000	Texas Freedom Fund
TOTAL	\$28,400	

2 Wittig made 10 of these contributions, totaling \$9,000, in response to the 2002

- solicitations. Lake made seven of these contributions, totaling \$6,300. When considered with
- 4 the \$11,500 in contributions forwarded in 2000, see supra pp. 5-6, contributions solicited and
- 5 delivered by Westar executives and agents or sent using Westar resources totaled \$39,900
- 6 between September 2000 and December 2002.

IV. <u>LEGAL ANALYSIS</u>

- In 2000 and 2002, Westar embarked on two organized efforts to make contributions to
- 9 federal candidate committees. These efforts went beyond permissible communications to its
- restricted class concerning recommended candidates and/or contribution suggestions. See 11
- 11 C.F.R. § 114.3(a)(1). Acting by and through Wittig, Lake, and other corporate officers and
- agents, Westar collected earmarked contributions and forwarded them to federal candidate
- committees. In using corporate resources and facilities to engage in fundraising activities,

- 1 Westar facilitated the making of prohibited corporate contributions totaling \$39,900. See 2
- 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) and 11 C.F.R. §§ 114.2(f)(1) and 114.2(f)(2)(ii). Section 441b(a) also prohibits
- 3 corporate officers and directors from consenting to any corporate contribution in connection with
- any Federal election, and Commission regulations specifically prohibit officers and directors
- from facilitating corporate contributions. See 11 C.F.R. § 114.2(f).

A. Wittig Consented to Corporate Facilitation by Westar

Wittig, Westar's top corporate officer during the relevant time period, consented to the prohibited corporate facilitation of contributions to federal candidates. Wittig not only knew that Westar employees or agents were collecting executives' contribution checks and forwarding them to candidate committees, he directed his subordinates, Koupal and Lawrence, to do so as part of their jobs. *See supra*, pp. 3-9. He, in fact, instigated the 2000 effort and determined which executives would be solicited and how much they would be asked to contribute. He also made contributions himself and gave his earmarked checks to Koupal or Lawrence for them to forward to the candidate committee or to Bornemann. In addition, Wittig forwarded his own contribution checks to candidate committees using Westar's mailing facilities. Based on these facts, Wittig undoubtedly knew about Westar's facilitation. *See* Koupal Affidavit, ¶ 13.

Wittig argues that he did not violate any campaign finance laws or regulations for several reasons: Westar executives were not required to make any campaign contributions; Westar executives were not reimbursed for the contributions they made; he did not play any role in collecting or distributing contributions; his contributions were personal; and he did not direct anyone to use corporate funds or property to facilitate campaign contributions. *See* MUR 5573,

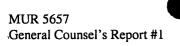
⁸ See, e g, MUR 4621 (Merrill Cook), Conciliation Agreement at 9, 11 (liable as officer for consenting to corporate in-kind contributions), and MUR 4884 (Leonard Keller) Conciliation Agreement, at 7-8 (liable as officer for consenting to corporation making contribution in the name of another).

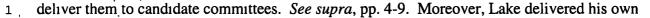


- 1 Wittig Response, Jan. 18, 2005, pp. 2-3. Moreover, he adopts Vice Chairman Toner's view that
- 2 Westar's contribution activities fall within a safe harbor in the Commission regulations. See
- 3 MUR 5657, Wittig Response, October 21, 2005, p. 1; see also 11 C.F.R. § 114.9 (corporate
- 4 employees may make occasional, isolated, or incidental use of corporate facilities for individual
- 5 volunteer activity in connection with a Federal election).
- Wittig does not address his liability as a consenting officer. See 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) and
- 7 11 C.F.R. § 114.2(f). Most of his arguments do not address or adequately refute the
- 8 Commission's allegations that Westar and its employees and agents collected executives'
- 9 earmarked contributions and forwarded them together to federal candidate committees, and that
- Westar executives also used Westar resources to send contributions checks. The Commission
- has not alleged that Westar facilitated contributions through coercion or that executives were
- reimbursed for their contributions. His argument that he did not direct anyone to use "corporate
- funds or property" to facilitate contributions does not address the evidence that he directed
- 14 Koupal and Lawrence to collect earmarked contributions intended for candidates whom he
- wanted Westar to support and who could be of help to Westar. His argument contradicts the
- Westar Special Report, admissions by Lawrence, and a sworn affidavit by Koupal.
- In sum, the evidence establishes that Westar facilitated corporate contributions and that
- Wittig consented to it. Therefore, this Office recommends that the Commission find probable
- cause to believe that Wittig violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) and 11 C.F.R. § 114.2(f).

B. Lake Consented to Corporate Facilitation by Westar

- Lake also consented to Westar's facilitation of prohibited contributions. Lake, as
- Westar's Vice President of Corporate Strategy and one of the solicited executives, knew of the
- 23 2000 and 2002 plans to collect earmarked contribution checks from Westar executives and





- 2 checks to Koupal and Lawrence, knowing that the checks would be forwarded to the intended
- 3 recipients. Lake also used corporate resources to send his own contributions to candidate
- 4 committees after Westar stopped forwarding checks.
- In his response to the Brief, which incorporates by reference his response to the
- 6 Commission's reason to believe findings, Lake argues that he had no role in "conceiving of,
- directing, organizing, collecting, or sending any donations." See Lake Response, at 1. He further
- argues that he was never reimbursed for the donations he made, never used corporate assets in
- 9 making any donation, played no role in soliciting other Westar executives for a donation, and did
- not supervise Koupal or Lawrence. See id., at 1-2. Lake also claims to have no "firsthand"
- knowledge" of how the contributions were collected and distributed. See id., at 2.
- Lake acknowledges, however, that he discussed his donations with Lawrence, "to whom
- he provided the checks." See id. Moreover, he was present at the meeting where Wittig
- explained the 2000 contributions plan, including giving the direction to give checks to Koupal.
- 15 See supra, p. 4. He also received memoranda from Koupal and Lawrence telling him and the
- other executives to return contribution checks to them so that the checks could be forwarded
- together to candidate committees. See supra, pp. 4-5. In addition, Lake does not deny that he
- used Westar facilities to mail his own checks after organized collection and forwarding stopped.
- Based on these facts, it is apparent that Lake knew about Westar's facilitation. See Koupal
- Affidavit, at ¶ 14. Thus, as an officer, Lake is liable under the Act because he consented to
- Westar's facilitation of corporate contributions. See 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a). Therefore, this Office
- recommends that the Commission find probable cause to believe that Lake violated 2 U.S.C.
- 23 § 441b(a) and 11 C.F.R. § 114.2(f) of the Act.

14 4

VI. <u>RECOMMENDATIONS</u>

- 1. Find probable cause to believe that David Wittig violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) and 11 C.F.R. § 114.2(f).
 - 2. Find probable cause to believe that Douglas Lake violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) and 11 C.F.R. § 114.2(f).

· 23

	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	6 7
	8 9
	10
	11
	12
	13
	14
	15
	16
¢O	17
Φ	18
ব	19
C.	20
<u>द्</u> य	21 22
College	23
9	24
(D)	25
. 11	26
	27
	28
	29
	30

MUR 5657

General Counsel's Report #1

		•
1	3.	
2		
3	4.	
4	•	
5		
6		·
7		7 5 110
8	11/7/05	Lun Di Mali
9	Date	Lawrence H. Norton
10		General Counsel
11	•	•
12	•	
13		Par de Ol mail
14		Chanda (North)
15		Rhonda J. Vosdingh
16		Associate General Counsel for Enforcement
17	•	•
18		
19		$\langle \chi h \rangle$
20		
21		Julie/Kara McConnell
22		Acting/Assistant General Counsel
23		
24		ϵ
25		7 Coman Trada
26		Elena Paoli
27		Attorney
28		Attorney
29		
30	Attachments:	
31	1. David Wittig's response to the GC	` Brief
32	2. Douglas Lake's response to the Go	
33	3. Affidavit of Carl M. Koupal, Jr.	O Dilloi
34	4.	
35	4. 5.	
36	J.	



DLA Piper Rudnick Gray Cary US LLP 1200 Nineteenth Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036-2412 T 202.861.3900 F 202.223.2085 W www.dlapiper.com

HANK BOND WALTHER hank.walther@dlapiper.com T 202.861.3947 F 202.223.2085

October 21, 2005

RECEIVEB FEDERAL ELECTION GOMMISSION OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

VIA HAND DELIVERY

Lawrence H. Norton, Esq. General Counsel Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, NW Washington, D.C. 20463

Re:

David Wittig, MUR 5657

Dear Mr. Norton:

This letter is in response to your September 1, 2005 letter, informing Mr. Wittig that the Office of the General Counsel is prepared to recommend that the Commission find probable cause to believe that he violated Federal Election Commission regulations. We have carefully reviewed your letter and the attached General Counsel's Brief, which describe your allegations against Mr. Wittig. For the reasons described in our January 18, 2005 letter to FEC Chairman Smith, we believe that there is no factual or legal basis sufficient to establish that Mr. Wittig violated any campaign finance laws or regulations. Additionally, we incorporate by reference Vice Chairman Michael E. Toner's Statement of Reasons in In the Matter of Westar Energy, Inc., including his conclusion that "OGC's standard is an overly broad theory of corporate facilitation" and that the actions of Westar Energy, Inc. fall under the safe harbor provision of the FEC regulations.

As you may know, Mr. Wittig is currently involved in an ongoing criminal proceeding in the United States District Court for the District of Kansas. This law firm represents Mr. Wittig in those proceedings. At this time, we anticipate that the proceedings in the District Court will continue until January or February 2006. Accordingly, we request that the FEC stay this

Attachment 1 Page 1 of 2



Lawrence H. Norton, Esq. October 21, 2005 Page 2

proceeding until March 2006, when the criminal proceedings in the District Court have been completed and Mr. Wittig, along with his counsel, can devote their full attention to this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Mank Bond Walther

/hbw

Hughes Hubbard & Reed LLP

UC) 11 2883 21-33 11 13

One Battery Park Plaza New York, New York 10004-1482 Telephone: 212-837-6000

Fax: 212-422-4726

October 11, 2005

OFFISE OF GENERAL GOUNSEL

VIA TELECOPY

Elena Paoli, Esq. Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20463

Re:

MUR 5657

Dear Ms. Paoli:

I write in response to the General Counsel's brief in this matter. Mr. Lake stands by the legal arguments and authority set forth in our letter to Bradley A. Smith dated January 18, 2005 in this matter. Mr. Lake denies that he violated any laws or rules regarding federal elections, and respectfully urges that the Commission take no action against him.

Very truly yours,

Pabio B. Bertoni

47, Avenue Georges Mandel 75116 Paris, France (33) (1) 44.05.80.00

1775 I Street, N W. Washington, D.C. 20006-2401 202-721-4600 350 South Grand Avenue Les Angeles, California 90071 - 3442 213-613-2800 201 South Bussayne Burlevard Miams, Florida 33131 - 4332 395-358-1 666

Aksonka Tok: 2-14-3 Nagar Tukya 100-00 (81) 3539

Attachment 2 Page 1 of 1

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF

MUR 5657

DECLARATION OF CARL M. KOUPAL, JR.

I, Carl M. Koupal, Jr., say as follows in connection with the Federal Election Commission's investigation in Matter Under Review 5657:

- 1. My name is Carl M. Koupal, Jr. I reside in Topeka, Kansas, and am currently a bank president.
- 2. From September 2000 until October 2001, I was the Executive Vice President and Chief Administrative Officer at Westar Energy, Inc. My responsibilities included overseeing governmental affairs, human resources, regulatory affairs and corporate communications. I reported to CEO David Wittig.
- 3. I was a member of Westar's Executive Council, which was comprised of the top six executives at Westar, including David Wittig and Doug Lake.
- 4. In late August or early September 2000, Wittig asked me to prepare a list of federal, state and local candidates for the Executive Council members to support and to propose suggested contribution amounts for the executives. This was the first time Wittig asked me to prepare such a document. I believe that the timing had to do with the fact that the Westar PAC, which used to contribute to candidate committees, was no longer active and Wittig wanted participation by senior management in the current campaigns for the general election.
- 5. Accordingly, I created a proposed contributions schedule for the Westar executives, including myself, Wittig and Lake. I presented the chart to Wittig for his approval, and he modified some of the contribution amounts. I incorporated Wittig's edits into the chart.
 - 6. At around the same time, Wittig brought up the subject of political contributions at one of the regular Monday Executive Council meetings. I do not remember whether the chart existed when this particular meeting took place. At the meeting, Wittig announced that he had asked me to prepare a proposed contributions schedule for candidates to support in the upcoming elections. Wittig said that the document would have suggested contribution amounts and that I would be getting in touch with each executive about his or her suggested contributions. Wittig also announced to the executives that the contribution checks should be given to me. Doug Lake attended this meeting.

- 7. Wittig never said that the contributions were mandatory, but at the meeting he emphasized that we needed to be involved in supporting these candidates.
- 8. When the chart was finalized, I gave a copy to each executive, including Wittig and Lake. Except for Lake, I talked to the executives in person to let them know when to write the checks and to whom to write the checks.
- 9. The five Executive Council executives gave me their checks, and I sent them to the candidate's campaign offices or delivered them in person at a candidate's local fundraising event.
- 10. The suggested contribution amounts varied depending on whether the candidate was perceived to have a tough general election race. Larger amounts were given as a matter of course to Ryun and Tiahrt, who represented the districts where Westar had its headquarters (Topeka) and its other big office (Wichita).
- 11. Lake was not present at Westar's offices in Kansas very often. Per Lake's request, I wrote him a memorandum dated Sept. 20, 2000, which listed the candidate committees to which Lake was being asked to make a contribution. In the memorandum, the committee names are written out in full; the contributions chart that I prepared and that Lake had previously received did not have the full committee names written out. In the memorandum, I also asked Lake to return the checks to me so that I could deliver his checks together with the contribution checks written by the other Westar executives.
- 12. Shortly after sending Lake the memorandum, I received an envelope from him with contribution checks.
- 13. I am certain that Wittig knew that I was collecting contribution checks from the Westar executives and delivering their contribution checks in a bundle to the candidates. The basis for my opinion is that (1) Wittig instigated the contributions plan, after the demise of the PAC, by telling the executives that he wanted the company to support these candidates; (2) he directed me to create the candidate list and come up with suggested contribution amounts for the executives; (3) he edited the contribution amounts; (4) he announced at the staff meeting that I would be creating such a list, that I would be in touch with the executives about their suggested contribution amounts, and that the executives should give their checks to me; and (5) Wittig gave his own checks to me for delivery to the candidate committees.
- 14. Similarly, I am certain that Lake knew that I was collecting, bundling and delivering the Westar executives' contribution checks to the candidate committees. The basis for my opinion is that (1) Lake was at the meeting when Wittig announced the contributions effort; (2) per Lake's request, I wrote him the Sept. 20, 2000, memorandum listing the candidate committees,

with their full names written out, to which Lake was being asked to write checks; (3) Lake received a copy of the contributions schedule showing the amounts he and the other executives were being asked to contribute; (4) my memorandum to Lake told him to write the checks and get them to me so that "we" can deliver them together; and (5) Lake wrote all of the checks requested in the amounts requested of him and sent them to me on the same day.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Dated 22 August 2005

Carl M. Koupai, Jr.